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H.H. SHAIKH SULMAN BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., Ruler of Bahrain.

Photo : National Art Studio

The
young business men and merchants are proud of their country and are inclined to be annoyed by visitors who confine their attention to the antiques and "quaint" sights of Bahrain, ignoring modern buildings and new enterprises. Graduates of Bahrain and foreign schools are go-ahead in their outlook and are determined to modernise Bahrain as much as possible; for this purpose they are willing to break with many of the traditions of the past, which are so often of interest to Europeans and Americans. Despite this, the young men of Bahrain appreciate meeting the foreigners who live in or visit their country.

CHAPTER III

THE STATE

BAHRAIN has been in treaty relations with the British Government since 1820. Its relations with the British Government and with other foreign governments are conducted through the British Political Agent in Bahrain. Bahrain is also the headquarters of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who lives at Jufair.

The Head of the State is His Highness Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., who was born in 1894, the eldest son of the late Ruler, Shaikh Hamed bin' Isa al-Khalifah, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. He succeeded his father in 1942 and has three sons: Their Excellencies Shaikhs 'Isa, Khalifah and Muhammad, and seven brothers. Shaikh Sulman is the tenth Shaikh of the Khalifah family to rule in Bahrain since it was conquered by his ancestor Shaikh Ahmed bin Khalifah in 1782.

The form of government can be described as a benevolent autocracy; the Ruler governs his State through Arab and British officials, who are in charge of the various departments of State, and by means of councils and committees consisting of elected and nominated members representing the different communities. Shaikhs of the Ruling Family preside over many of the councils and hold posts in the administration.

The principal government departments are the Adviserate (The Secretariat), Customs, Education, Electricity, Finance, Judical, Lands, Police, Public Health, Public Works, Passports, Religious Endowments etc., etc. In the towns of Manama, Muharraq, Hedd and Rifaa there are municipalities; the first of these was established in Manama in 1920.

The revenue of the State is mainly derived from oil royalties, including payments on oil which is imported for refining, and from customs dues on imports. There is no income tax and no land tax but in the towns there is a small municipal tax on houses, shops and places of business. The revenue of the State for the year 1370 A.H. (October 1950—October 1951) was Rupees 25,155,700 (£1,866,000) and the estimated revenue for 1372 (September 1952—September 1953) is much greater owing to a revision of the oil payments by which the

Bahrain Government receives 50% of the profits of the oil industry. 652
The Eastern Bank, since it was established in 1919, has served as the State's Treasury and a Budget is published every year showing the revenue and expenditure of the State.

The Customs Directorate is in the centre of the Manama sea front 651
and there are subsidiary offices in Muharraq Town, at the Airport 439
and at Sitra. All goods of any kind which are imported or exported 504
must pass through the customs. The Customs Pier at Manama, which was originally built in 1917, has frequently been lengthened and enlarged and now extends for a quarter of a mile out to sea. Owing to shallow water, vessels in the Manama harbour have to anchor some three miles from the shore and passengers and cargo are conveyed to and from the steamers by launches, barges and sailing dhows. The port and storage facilities in Bahrain are better than elsewhere in the Gulf and importers are allowed to retain their goods in the customs premises for ninety days before re-exporting them. There are usually about 90-100 sailing vessels and launches alongside and anchored off the pier, these come from other Gulf ports, from the west coast of India and from the Red Sea. Walking down the customs pier one sees many interesting types of vessels and sea-faring Arabs from all parts of the Gulf and beyond it.

On the west of the entrance to the Pier is the Passport Office. 486
Passport Officials go aboard all passenger vessels and are present at the Airport when aircraft arrive. Bahrain has had its own passports since 1929.

On the south side of the Square, which has a little garden in the 344
centre of it, is the "Bab al-Bahrain," the Gateway of Bahrain, consisting of two large blocks of office buildings with an archway in the centre. On the south side of the western block there is a fine old Arab door and on the balconies of the buildings as well as around the garden in the Square there are cement panels containing Arabesque patterns copied from old buildings in Bahrain.

The Bab al-Bahrain contains the finance and accounts department 344
where all payments to the Government for electricity, water, etc., etc., 655
are made, the Land Department which deals with sales and registration 423
of property and questions about boundaries and ownership of land, the registration of sales being compulsory, and several other government offices. His Highness has a reception room overlooking the 643
square on the first floor of the building where he sits on Wednesday mornings. Here he receives any visitors who wish to call on him and sees people who present petitions. On Monday mornings he visits the Municipal Buildings at Muharraq where he holds a similar reception.

East of the Customs, on the sea front, is the Law Courts Building 692
which contains a number of different courts including religious courts presided over by the Qadis of the Sunni and Shia sects. Certain foreigners, including British, Americans, Pakistanis and Indians are under the judicial authority of H.B.M.'s Political Agent. In mixed

The people of Bahrain are extremely law abiding and there is very little crime. A force of 300 uniformed police and 200 armed watchmen is responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The Police headquarters is the Fort to the south-west of Manama, this also contains the Traffic Department, the jail for short term convicts and the police barracks. There are police stations in various districts of Manama and Muharraq and in Hedd, Budaiya, Jaw, Sitra and elsewhere in Bahrain.

Most of the Government buildings in Bahrain are constructed by the Public Works Department whose offices and yards are on the northern shore of Manama south of the Manama-Muharraq Causeway. This department is also responsible for the Manama town water supply and the upkeep of roads and bridges. Close to the Public Works Department, on the opposite side of the Causeway, is the power house and office of the State Engineer. Electricity was first installed in Manama in 1929, later it was extended to Muharraq. The Power Station now generates about 7½ million Kw. per annum.

In addition to these departments there are others including the Transport Section, near the Police Fort, and the Agricultural Department which runs experimental gardens in Budiaya and Manama and gives advice to Bahrain agriculturalists.

THE RULING FAMILY OF BAHRAIN

The Ruler :

HIS HIGHNESS SHAIKH SULMAN BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

Sons of the Ruler :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ISA BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH.

Uncles of the Ruler :

HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.I.E.
HIS EXCELLENCY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD BIN ISA AL-KHALIFAH, C.B.E.

Brothers of the Ruler :

SHAIKH MUBARAK BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ABDULLA BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH IBRAHIM BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH KHALIFAH BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH DAU BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH AHMED BIN HAMED AL-KHALIFAH.

Sons of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa :

SHAIKH RASHID BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH ALI BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.
SHAIKH HAMED BIN ABDULLA AL-KHALIFAH.

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first payments of oil royalities came at a critical time in Bahrain's history, when it was suffering from the effects of a slump in the pearling industry, and they enabled the State to continue its public works and social services. Apart from increasing the cost of living and causing a shortage of foods, the 1939-45 war had no direct effect on Bahrain, with the exception of a long-range bomber raid carried out by the Italian Air Force on the oil installations of Bahrain, and this attempt failed.

On February 20, 1942, Shaikh Hamed died, and was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Sulman bin Hamed al-Khalifah, the present ruler, under whom the march of progress in Bahrain has continued. The story of modern Bahrain and the activities of the Bahrain Government are described in Chapter III of the First Part of this book.

NOTES

[1] Durand, "Extracts from Report on the Islands and Antiques of Bahrain," with notes by H. C. Rawlinson, in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1880.

[2] de Goeje, M. J., *Memoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain et les Fatimides*, 1886.

[3] Idrisi, *Troisieme Climat-Sixieme Section*, translated by P. A. Jaubert, p. 373.

[4] Belgrave, C. D., "The Portuguese in the Bahrain Islands," *Journal Royal Central Asian Society*, 1935.

[5] Whose work is in the possession of a Bahraini historian.

[6] An-Nabhani, Muhammad, *Tarikh al-Jazirat al-Arabiya*, 1923, p. 125.

[7] Kennier, J. M., *Memoire on the Persian Empire*.

[8] For details of this and subsequent treaties between the Bahrain rulers and the British *see* Aitcheson, *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries*, vol. xi, 1933.

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The financial progress of Bahrain during these years has been briefly as follows: five years of prosperity during which the State depended upon the diving industry, two lean years when the pearl market began to droop, two years of crisis during which the revenue did not cover the expenditure, one year of slight recovery followed by a sudden large increase of revenue from oil. It is likely that during the present year the revenue from oil alone will amount to more than double the total revenue of any previous year.

A detailed report on the revenue of these years is not necessary as it has been dealt with minutely in annual reports, but the accompanying figures show the annual income with explanations of any unusual rise or fall. The subject of this report is the last ten years, and it is not proposed in this report to deal with the future, but it may be stated that, in my opinion, the most urgent need for the State is to provide itself with a solid Reserve Fund which will assure it a regular income which can be depended upon even when oil begins to run dry. Unfortunately it is the nature of Arabs to be over-optimistic and to pay small heed to the future, so the need for building up this reserve will not be generally appreciated.

Year.	*Customs Revenue.*	*Other Revenue.*	*Oil Royalty.*	*Total.*	*Remarks.*
	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	
1344	8,82,000	1,80,000	—	10,62,000	
1345	10,68,000	3,37,000	—	14,05,000	
1346	11,43,000	97,000	—	12,40,000	
1347	11,24,000	91,000	—	12,15,000	
1348	9,98,000	1,36,000	—	11,34,000	
1349	6,89,000	1,28,000	—	8,17,000	
1350	6,85,000	1,19,000	—	8,04,000	
1351	6,00,000	84,000	—	6,84,000	
1352	6,08,000	89,000	29,000	7,26,000	
1353	6,57,000	1,63,000	67,000	8,87,000	
1354	6,91,000	83,000	5,68,000	13,42,000	
1355	8,74,000	81,000	6,92,000	16,47,000	

THE STATE POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY.

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The Levy Corps.

In 1926 the armed forces of Bahrain consisted of a Levy Corps, a few Persian police who were originally enlisted by the Municipality, and a body of 'Nasurs,' armed watchmen who patrolled the town at night. The Levy Corps provided a guard at the Political Agency and posts at Rafaa and Sitra. The Levy Corps, which consisted of so-called Baluchis recruited in Muscat, was commanded by a British Officer seconded from the Indian Army, assisted by an Indian Officer and several Indian N.C.O.'s from Punjabi regiments. In 1926 the Levy Corps was commanded by Captain Geake, who had succeeded Captain Campbell. The Levy Corps was intended mainly as a defence force in case of any serious disturbance or an attack on Bahrain by the Dawasir Arabs, who once lived at Budeya but left Bahrain in anger soon after Shaikh Hamad assumed control.

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In the spring of 1926 it was decided that the Indian Army officer should be replaced by a British official, who would act as assistant Adviser and Commandant of the Levy Corps. Captain L. S. Parke was appointed in this capacity in place of Captain Geake, who returned to his regiment.

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Political Disturbances.

There was a general feeling of nervousness and unrest in Bahrain in 1926. Many people were afraid that the Dawasir would make a descent on the coast and a series of armed attacks on Shia villages, organised by disaffected members of the Ruling Family, were still fresh in the public mind. The present Ruler was not yet firmly established, many people were opposed to him, and in certain communities there was a feeling of bitter resentment against the new regime and the various reforms which had been introduced. Conditions were very different to what they are to-day: in the country few people would venture out unarmed at night, and in the towns there were frequent scares of armed attacks.

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On 3rd August, Haji Sulman, the Chief of the police, was shot at in Manamah; this caused great excitement; on the next day the 'shooting' occurred. Major, now Colonel, Daly, who was then Political Agent, was in the office at the Fort, seated at a table, talking to the Indian officer who stood in front of him. One of the Levy Corps men, who thought he had been badly treated by the Subedar, came outside the window and shot the Subedar from behind. The shot went through the Subedar, who died later in the day, and carried off a piece of Major Daly's ear. The man shot and killed one of the Indian Havildars and, when pursued by Major Daly, attacked him with a bayonet and wounded him in several places. Finally he surrendered himself.

There was an immediate panic in the town, crowds of people hurried into boats and set off for Muharraq, and shopkeepers closed their shops, thinking that the Dawasir were coming. Finally calm was restored. The affair was the action of a single individual who 'ran amok,' and it had no political significance; this opinion was not, however, shared by everybody. For about two months after the incident Bahrain was virtually under martial law. One, or sometimes two, of the sloops of the Persian Gulf Division were anchored in the harbour, and British naval guards were stationed at the Fort and at the Agency. The Levy Corps was disbanded and the men were sent back to Muscat, from whence many of them gradually returned to Bahrain as at that time there was no passport system and no check was kept on persons arriving in the country.

In the middle of October a detachment from one of the Punjabi regiments, commanded by a British officer, arrived in Bahrain and was stationed at the Fort. Shortly after their arrival the Baluchi Levy Corps man who had been the cause of all the trouble was tried, sentenced, and shot.

Attempt to assassinate the Shaikh.

About a month later Shaikh Hamad narrowly escaped assassination. He was driving out to one of his country houses after dinner, as was his custom, when he was shot at by four men at close range from behind a hedge at a bend in the road. The sudden glare of the car's powerful headlights evidently dazzled the men and their shots went low, hitting the car and missing the Shaikh, who at that time used always to sit in front next to the driver. Though the place of the ambush was only a mile or two from Manamah, no news of the attempt was received until next morning, and consequently the criminals escaped.

In 1930, through the combined efforts of Haji Sulman, the local police officer and Shaikh Mohomed bin Jabr, who is now the Amir of Muharraq, the men who attempted to assassinate Shaikh Hamad were arrested. It was proved that they were some of the same men who had taken part in attacks on Shia villages, where they murdered and robbed men, women, and children. Their final arrest was the result of long and complicated investigations extending over several years, and the result of this work reflected great credit on the police who dealt with the case. The men were a gang of Hassawis who were employed by certain members of the Ruling Family as 'gunmen.' For a price they would shoot anybody. The complicity of their masters was proved in the Bahrain courts and the Shaikhs who were concerned were heavily fined and deprived of their offices. One of them, when the murderers were convicted, was acting as the President of one of the Bahrain courts. Shaikh Ibrahim bin Khalid, who was one of the principal persons concerned, has since died. The Hassawis being foreigners were tried in the Agency court and sentenced not to death but to imprisonment.

On November 3rd, 1926, the village of Senobis, about three miles from Manamah, was attacked by armed robbers, several of the villagers were killed, and one of the attackers was shot while carrying away plunder.

Indian Levy Corps.

After these various events it was decided that a regular and efficient force was needed to preserve law and order. A force consisting of ex-Indian Army Punjabi Moslems was enlisted by me in India, with the help of the Indian Army recruiting authorities. Captain L. S. Parke arrived at the end of 1926 and took over command of the new Levy Corps; he held the post of Commandant of Police and assistant Adviser until 1932 when, owing to the need for economy, his agreement was not renewed.

The Indians, on the whole, were not a success, though they worked and behaved well, but they filled a gap at a time when a force of trained men was very necessary. The climate did not

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Ruler's house at Sakhir with the exchange by means of a line from Manamah through the Bahrain Petroleum Company's exchange. Telephonic communication now exists over a great part of the islands; from the aerodrome in Muharraq it is possible to talk to steamers lying off Sitra, as a submarine cable was laid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company to the Sitra anchorage, or to distant points on the oil field far down at the south end of the island. 206

At the end of 1355 (1936-37) there were 40 telephone subscribers, and it is expected that during the next year this number will increase to 60. The trunk line to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's Camp was duplicated in order to deal with the increased traffic. The possibility of installing an automatic switchboard (100 lines) is now under consideration. The advantages would be the elimination of operators and the language difficulties and the prevention of listening-in.

SUMMARY OF SEVEN YEARS' WORKING

Year.	*Units Generated.*	*Units Sold.*	*Revenue Rs*	*Connected Load in Kw.*
1349 (1930-31) ...	88,080 ...	47,340 ...	20,750/- ...	102
1350 (1931-32) ...	111,367 ...	65,813 ...	22,486/- ...	46
1351 (1932-33) ...	120,629 ...	79,550 ...	27,463/- ...	23
1352 (1933-34) ...	134,744 ...	83,241 ...	30,987/- ...	9
1353 (1934-35) ...	147,050 ...	100,449 ...	36,797/- ...	16
1354 (1935-36) ...	163,751 ...	116,440 ...	43,828/- ...	27
1355 (1936-37) ...	232,320 ...	151,255 ...	60,108/- ...	58

The revenue figures are shown to the nearest rupee.

AGRICULTURE

Until a few years ago agriculture in Bahrain consisted of cultivating dates and lucerne fairly extensively and growing citrus fruit and a few poor vegetables such as onions, tomatoes, radishes, and melons. In 1930 the Government attempted to encourage agriculture by employing an agricultural expert from Iraq, but owing to lack of funds his services were dispensed with before he could make much progress. 241

The encouragement of agriculture presents many difficulties. Bahrain Arabs regard all agricultural work as derogatory; I have never met one who worked in a garden or a date grove. All the cultivators are Shia aboriginals or Hasawis imported from the mainland as labourers. This feeling against working on the land, and also the question of land tenure have, I believe, restricted the increase of agriculture during the last century. There is ample evidence to show that in the past a great deal more land was cultivated than is to-day. The people who do work on the land are intensely conservative and view all methods except their own with dislike and suspicion. 461

Land Tenure. Most of the open cultivatable land, which is along the coast, is claimed by the Ruling Family, who make no use of it themselves, but prevent the Baharna from extending their existing gardens. In the past, Shaikh Sir Isa was in the habit of issuing papers to various of his relations, gifting to them whole districts of Bahrain. These 'hiba' documents, which were often written on scraps of paper, included large areas described as 'sehar,' containing roads, villages, springs, privately owned property as well as open land. The Shaikhs who acquired 'hibas' enjoyed feudal rights over the territories which were mentioned in their documents, and in the past they were allowed to make what they could out of them by independent taxation of the people living in the villages, by employing forced labour and by using open land as grazing grounds for the animals which they used to own before the days of motor cars. When the 'hiba' system began, long before the introduction of artesian wells, the possibility of increased cultivation was not visualised, but now the holders of 'hibas' 471 643 423

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have interpreted them as giving actual and exclusive ownership of all land which is not privately owned which is really State land. As a result of this condition, nearly all the land from Manamah to beyond Zellaq, along the coast, is claimed by various members of the Ruling Family.

Date Cultivation.

Dates are the most important crop in Bahrain; though not as good as the Hassa dates, they are said to be more lasting. Most gardens contain a large proportion of inferior species which are used only for feeding animals. Few gardens are well kept. More than half of the gardens belong to the Khalifah, who for years have spent no money on improving them, but in spite of this they complain incessantly that the rents have fallen off, which is owing to the decrease in the market price of dates by over 60%, and the deterioration of the gardens from lack of care and expenditure on improvements. Dates form part of the staple diet in Bahrain and are much used for provisioning the pearl fleet, but the home-grown crop is not enough to meet the local demand, and every year about six lacs' worth of dates are imported from Hassa and Iraq. There is no land tax and no tax on date trees in Bahrain, so it is impossible to give an estimate of the number of date palms, but the whole area under cultivation is very small, perhaps one-fiftieth of the total area of the islands. Recently the number of date gardens has been slightly increased, as a few people, notably the Ruler himself, have sunk artesian wells and planted land with trees. The date crop could undoubtedly be improved if more care was taken over the cultivation. In Bahrain, date cultivation is a casual affair, trees are never manured, and there is no regular system of planting. In one of the Ruler's gardens the experiment was made some years ago of manuring the roots of the trees, and the result of this was that the trees produced better crops than those which had not been manured. The use of any form of fertiliser, either decayed leaves and camel thorn or animal manure, was unknown a few years ago, but it is now being used in gardens, but not for date trees.

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Lucerne.

Lucerne is used extensively as fodder for cows and donkeys. It grows rapidly and is easily cultivated on poor soil. Both Hassa and Bahrain seeds are used, the latter being more expensive, and when once established it will grow for as long as ten years and will give a crop every month. It is very hardy in growth, but is liable to attacks by a kind of small caterpillar which appears once or twice every year and destroys all the lucerne in whole districts of the country. Experiments have been made by the camel section of the police in drying lucerne and using it as dry fodder when out on patrol; this has been found very successful.

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Cereals.

At one time it was the custom of the people of Rafsa to sow barley before the rainy season on the plain below the town, and for many years successful crops were harvested, but the crop occasionally failed owing to lack of rain. For some years now this practice has ceased, partly because the people of Rafsa are more prosperous than before, as almost all the able-bodied men of the town have obtained employment with the Bahrain Petroleum Company.

An experiment was made in growing California barley by the Government some years ago on irrigated land, and this was found to be a success.

Last year, millet was raised in the Fort garden. It sprang from the camel manure which was used in the soil. It grew sufficiently well to show that there were possibilities of its being grown on a large scale. Maize or Indian corn has also been grown in small quantities.

Three years ago a crop of rice was grown by Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz Gozaibi, who is a large landowner and interested in agriculture. The rice was grown in rich, well-watered land near Sehlah; the seed was from Hassa, where it is cultivated extensively, and the crop yielded a small profit.

A little maize or Indian corn is grown in some gardens, and finds a ready sale in the bazaar; the quality is poor, probably because no care is taken to procure good seed.

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Cotton.

In the time of the Caliphs, cotton from Bahrain used to be sent to Baghdad, but it is not certain that this cotton was grown in the islands, as at that time much of the mainland was also known as Bahrain. In 1930 an experiment was made in growing

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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Arabs and Baharna. There is a sharply defined difference in Bahrain between the urban and the rural population. The people of the towns, Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd, are mostly Arabs and foreigners, traders, shop-keepers, pearl merchants, and landowners. The villagers, who are said to form about two-thirds of the total population, although there has never been a census in Bahrain, are the aboriginal Shia inhabitants of the islands, cultivators and fishermen, many of whom dive during the pearling season. There is a racial and religious difference between the two which is outwardly apparent in the appearance, the dress, and the speech of the people, especially in the case of the women. The Baharna, who used to own Bahrain, are now the tenants and servants of the Arab landowners and the Ruling Family, and there is no sympathy between them.

The Baharna. During the last ten years the life of the country people has altered very little, but their outlook has changed considerably. Though still suffering acutely from an inferiority complex, they have become more independent. They have learnt to resort to the Government when they consider themselves aggrieved, and they have shaken off the remnants of feudal obligation to individual members of the Ruling Family which they unwillingly bore in the past. They recognise and appreciate the advantages of a central government which has made it impossible for individual landlords to take the law into their own hands or to unduly oppress their tenants.

Another important political change is the marked decrease in the influence of the Shia religious leaders. The Shia Qadis used to be regarded, especially in the villages, as almost divine, but to-day their power has dwindled. This is mainly owing to the undignified dissentions among the religious leaders and the public exposure, after criminal proceedings, for misappropriation of trust money, of two Shia Qadis during recent years. The transfer of the wakf administration from the control of the Qadis to a council elected by the Shia community has also contributed towards the lessening of the influence of the Qadis. Instead of depending on the advice of the Qadis in all important and political matters, the country people now follow the lead or two or three politically minded merchants of Manamah whose ideas, though progressive, are not free from self-interest.

Living conditions among the Baharna have changed very little. They are still the poorest element in the community. Their villages are dirty, unhealthy, and insanitary, and physically they are below the standard of the Arabs. Although no statistics are available, it seems evident that there is a very high death rate among young children in the villages owing to unhealthy conditions and lack of medical attention. The diet of the people is mainly vegetables, fish, and a little rice and dates, but they spend more money on their clothes, because they need no longer fear that, if they are decently dressed, they will attract the cupidity of the local overlord. Although the average amount which they spend on marriage-money has decreased by over 50% in ten years, yet they still spend large sums on making the pilgrimage to the sacred cities of Iraq, which they regard as being as important as the pilgrimage to Mecca. In spite of the obvious poverty of the Baharna, the Ruling Family still believe that their tenants, when they fail to pay their rent, have large sums of money hoarded in their houses. This belief, in the past, was one of the reasons for the frequent attacks on Baharna houses and villages by armed followers of Khalifah landlords. For some years, however, crimes of this type have ceased to take place.

The Baharna take more interest in the doings of the outer world. Although most of them are illiterate when they come into Manamah or to the weekly markets, they listen to people discussing the news in the papers or what they have heard on the 'radios,' and they carry distorted and very inaccurate stories back to their houses and villages. In their general outlook the baharna are many years behind the town dwellers.

The Townsfolk. Among the townspeople, particularly in the capital, there have been startling changes during the last ten years, both in the style of living and the outlook of the people. These changes have come from the people themselves and have not been forced upon them by the Government. This is especially noticeable

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THE SHEIK OF BAHREIN

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Crown, and the King of England wrote to each to thank him for his generous offer. A typical gesture, announced proudly by BBC, was that of the Sheik of Bahrein, who declared that, although he had no men whom he could put in the service of the British, he was able to send a gift of money. This gift, which amounted to £30,000, was added to a pool organized to buy a Spitfire which was to be named *Bahrein.* In addition to the monetary gift, the Government put at the disposal of the British Admiralty "for the duration of the war", the entire pearl fishing fleet of the island, estimated at more than 3,000 units. 648

Meanwhile, by a Supplementary Agreement dated June 19, 1940, the Bahrein Petroleum Company received an extension of its concession, to include the area covering all lands, shoals, reefs, waters, and submerged lands of "the present and future domains" of the Sheik of Bahrein. The new concession supplants the mining lease of 1934, and the revised agreement with the Bahrein Petroleum Company covers a period of fifty-five years, dating from June 19, 1940. The present area of the concession is given as approximately 1,664,000 acres, with a proved reserve of about 200 million barrels. 471

The refineries and oil depots of the Bahrein Islands were bombed in October 1940 by three Italian heavy bombers—with "satisfactory results", according to a communiqué of the Italian High Command of October 20, 1940. The planes had taken off from Dodecanese bases, and the 2,500 mile raid was the longest then on record by any of the belligerents. 471 648

The results were not, according to Allied sources, as satisfactory as the Italians claimed. The planes which dropped about fifty bombs, caused very little damage to the main part of the refinery.

According to *Middle East Journal,* the Persian Government protested to Italy for this violation of its national territory.

On February 20, 1942, at the age of 70, Sheik Hamed died of a stroke and his eldest son, Salman, the Governor of Manama, succeeded him. British recognition was announced by the 648 [643]

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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Government and Administration

The rule of the Sheikh, which is personal, is directly exerted over the part of Bahrein adjacent to Manāmah, and over the island of Muharraq, where he resides except during the four hottest months of the year. His authority over the rest of the principality is little more than nominal, for the land is divided among various relatives of his own, who hold it as almost independent fiefs, collecting their own taxes, and administering their own justice. Thus the islands of Sitrah and Nebi Sālih, with all the villages on the E. side of Bahrein to the S. of Khōr el-Kabb, and the inland villages of Rifā' esh-Sharqi and Rifā' el-Gharbi, are held by the Sheikh's brother Khālid. The subtraction of all this territory considerably reduces the Sheikh's revenue, which is derived not only from customs, but also from agricultural duties, taxes on pearl-boats, judicial fees, and rent of town lands, shops, or *khāns*. The Sheikh is assisted in the government by a *wazīr*, whose aid is all the more necessary, as the ruler is frequently absent on the mainland, chiefly for sporting purposes. In the towns of Manāmah and Muharraq there are deputy governors with the title of *emīr*.

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Justice, in criminal cases and important civil cases, is administered on behalf of the Sheikh by a chief qādhi. The treatment of minor cases depends upon the religious belief of the parties: if both are Sunnis, they go before the (Sunni) Sheikh of Muharraq: if both are Shiahs, before the (Shiah) Sheikh of Manāmah. There are, in addition, seven other qādhis permitted to adjudicate upon cases referred to them by agreement.

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Mercantile cases, especially those in which foreigners are concerned, are decided by a tribunal variously called *Mejlis el-'Urfi* or *Mejlis et-Tijārah*, a Customary or Commercial Court, with permanent members nominated by the Sheikh in consultation with the British Political Agent. When one or more of the parties to a case is a British subject, or when none of them are Bahrein subjects, the Mejlis is usually convoked by the Agent, and sits at the Agency, a representative of the Sheikh being permitted to attend. Cases arising out of pearl-diving operations are settled by a special board of arbitration known as the *Sālifat el-Ghaus*.

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Recent History and Present Politics

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Although the Sheikhs of the Khalīfah family had been in direct relations with us since 1805, and under treaty since 1820, another sixty years elapsed before the ruler of Bahrein entered into a binding

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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643 agreement similar to that accepted by the Sultan of Oman. By this
648 treaty he undertakes, in return for a subsidy, to alienate no part of his territory except to the British, to conform to British policy, and to accept no help, pecuniary or other, from any foreign power. A British Political Agent, under the Resident at Bushire, is stationed at Manāmah.

The present ruler, Sheikh 'Īsa ibn 'Ali el-Khalīfah, now an old man, owed his accession in 1867 to our influence, and has been supported by us against other claimants of his family, notably Khalīfah ibn Hamed ibn Mohammed el-Khalīfah, who has intrigued with the Porte. Although Sheikh 'Īsa is not without natural sagacity, he has proved to be lacking in the force of character and practical ability which distinguished his contemporary, Sheikh Mubārak of Koweit. In addition, he has sometimes shown himself sensitive of control, even to the point of obstructing reforms, encouraged in such courses, perhaps, by a certain impatience of foreign influence prevalent in Bahrein; he has thus on at least one occasion incurred the censure of the Indian Government. But in spite of these shortcomings, he has avoided serious complications; in the difficult times which began with the crisis in the pearl industry in 1913, and have been aggravated by the war, he has shown ability and reasonable goodwill. His heir, Sheikh Hāmid, is described as a man holding moderate views.

Islands

1. *Bahrein*

361 The general nature of Bahrein Island has been described in a
438 previous section (p. 311). In the present place the chief centres of population may be noticed. The island has nearly 100 villages and hamlets, of which the following are the most important:

Hālah Bin Anas, a short distance E. of Manāmah, with 85 huts of Sunnis, who are pearl-divers and fishermen.

'Askar, on the E. coast, 4½ miles ENE. of Jebel Dukhān. 75 stone houses and reed-huts of Āl Bu 'Ainein, pearl-divers, owning about 20 boats; 1,500 date-palms; a little live stock.

Bilād el-Qadīm, about 1½ mile SW. of Manāmah fort; about 350 mud and reed huts. The inhabitants are *Bahārinah*, who gain a livelihood as pearl-merchants, cultivators, or tailors; many ruined stone houses. It has a suburb to the SW. called *Bilād er-Rāfi'*, and on the NW. side the *Sūq el-Khamīs*, where a large market is held on Thursdays. About ½ mile to the W. are the ruins of the Madrasat Abu Zeidān, the minarets of which, in combination with Jebel